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ABSTRACT

Colombian Inga is of particular interest to the Quechuanist because it is the northernmost member of the Quechuan language family spoken in modern times. In the present work, the relationship of Colombian Inga to other varieties of Quechua is examined. The affiliation of Inga with the Ecuadorian group of Parker's (1969a) Quechua A branch of the Quechua diasystem is evidenced by shared innovations in the phonology and morphology. Among these are the voicing of the stops /p, t, k/ after homorganic nasals and the replacement of the possessive suffix system by a set of possessive pronouns. Additional innovations unique to Colombian Inga show it to form a distinct subgroup within the Ecuadorian group of Quecha A. (Contains 35 references.) (Author)

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THE HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF COLOMBIAN INGA (QUECHUA)

Roger Parks

Abstract: Colombian Inga is of particular interest to the Quechuanist because it is the northernmost member of the Quechuan language family spoken in modern times. In the present work the relationship of Colombian Inga to other varieties of Quechua is examined. The affiliation of Inga with the Ecuadorian group of Parker's (1969a) Quechua A branch of the Quechua diasystem is evidenced by shared innovations in the phonology and morphology. Among these are the voicing of the stops /p, t, k/ after homorganic nasals and the replacement of the possessive suffix system by a set of possessive pronouns. Additional innovations unique to Colombian Inga show it to form a distinct subgroup within the Ecuadorian group of Quechua A.

1. The Inga Language.

Inga, as the variety of Quechua spoken in Southern Colombia is known to its speakers, is of particular interest to the Quechuanist because of its place as the northernmost representative of this language family spoken in modern times and because it was apparently introduced into this region at the onset of the Spanish Colonial period during the twilight of the Inca Empire. Colombian Inga is spoken today by ten to fifteen thousand persons in the south of Colombia, principally in the Intendencia of Putumayo, with smaller contingents in the neighboring Departments of Nariño, Cauca, and Caqueta comprising perhaps an additional two thousand. Both Putumayo and Nariño are on the border with Ecuador, where the numerous related idioms known collectively as Ecuadorian Quichua are spoken.[1] Small groups of Ecuadorian Quichua speakers are also found in Colombia, most of whom are itinerant merchants with ties to Ecuador and who have not intermixed with their Ingano cousins. It is from Ecuador that Inga was most likely introduced to Colombia. Putumayo and Caquetá border with Peru, the historic cradle of the Quechuan languages, as well. However, the lowland region of Peru bordering on Colombia is not a Quechua-speaking area and it is less likely--though not entirely impossible--that Quechua was introduced into Southern Colombia by this route.

Less open to debate is the close linguistic affiliation of Colombian Inga with Ecuadorian Quichua. In this paper the linguistic history of Colombian Inga is outlined, from its roots in Proto-Quechua, the reconstructed, hypothetical ancestor of the Quechuan languages.

Modern Domain of Quechua. An innumerable variety of Quechuan languages and dialects are spoken throughout the extensive area in and around the Andes chain. This area corresponds roughly to the Inca Empire of pre-colonial times, although some redistribution of the Quechua speaking populace has taken place during the intervening four centuries. In terms of modern geography the area encompasses: Northern Argentina; Northern Chile; most of the highlands and some lowland areas of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador; Southern Colombia.

Proto-Quechuan, the ancestor of modern Quechuan, was probably spoken in what is now Central Peru around the ninth century AD. During the

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intervening millenium it has diverged into a variety of languages and dialects of which the speech of Cuzco, the Imperial headquarters of the Incas, was but one. With the expansion of the Inca Empire beginning in the 15th Century AD, Imperial Quechua–that of Cuzco–was propagated throughout the *Tawantinsuyu*, or 'Four Quarters' of the Inca domain. As the prestige dialect, it influenced–and occasionally supplanted–those forms of Quechua spoken in surrounding areas, much as Castillian influenced or replaced other Peninsular languages and dialects (e.g., Aragonese and Leonese) after the rise of Castile.

In one form or another Quechua also became the *lingua franca* among non-Quechuan speaking groups annexed to the Empire and vassal states. Chiefs and nobles of groups dominated by the Incas were required to send their children to Cuzco for education (Livermore 1966:402). Quechua was then carried back with them as the elite language of culture and refinement. Quechua was also carried to the fringes of the Empire and beyond by refugees from Inca rule.

A further factor in the spread of Quechua were the *mitmac* 'colonists' and *yanakuna* 'laborers' who were dispersed throughout the Empire as workers and settlers, at times involuntarily, to develop unsettled areas and to discourage rebellion. As related by Garcilaso de la Vega, whose father was a Spanish conquistador and whose mother was of royal Inca lineage, 'The Inca kings used to transplant Indians from one province to another to live. Their motives were partly the good of their subjects, and partly their own advantage in securing their dominions from rebellious uprisings' (Livermore 1966:401). The Spanish found this policy equally convenient and adopted it during the Colonial era, thus contributing even further to the spread of Quechua. It is also clear that, to some degree, at least, the Spanish promoted the use of Quechua among indigenous groups. Parker (1969:179-80) comments,

> 'Soon after the conquest large numbers of Indians were brought to Argentina from Southern Peru and Quechua was made the official language of the missionaries (trained in Peru). Historical and linguistic evidence coincide to suggest that Quechua became a standard language in Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and La Rioja [Argentina] during the colonial period.'

With the arrival of the conquistadors, seen at first as liberators by some recently subjugated tribes, many disenchanted Imperial subjects cast their lot with the Spanish and later received land grants in return for their allegiance.[2] Garcilaso de la Vega (1966:154) observed that '. . . some of the Quitan tribes had only recently been absorbed into the Inca Empire and thought that the arrival of the Spanish was an opportunity to regain their autonomy.' The Cañari tribe of Southern Ecuador was one such group which allied itself with the Spanish. Such factors established Quechua as a lingua franca throughout the Andean region from historical times up to the present.[3]

<u>Introduction of Quechua to Colombia.</u> As early as the reign of Huayna Capac in the late fifteenth century, Quechua was introduced to the Southern extreme of what is modern-day Colombia as a result of Imperial Inca expansion. Imperial dominion extended as far north as the Angasmayo River, south of Pasto. The Quillasinga tribe of this area had only recently become a tributary to the Empire when the Spanish arrived.

The Sibundoy Valley where the Ingas settled is east of the Pasto area across mountainous terrain. It is likely, therefore, that Spanish domination of Southern Colombia, rather than Imperial Inca expansion, brought the Ingas to Putumayo. The Spanish conquistador Sebastián del Belalacázar (also *Benalcázar*) is known to have
relocated Quechuan speaking settlers from Ecuador to Colombia during the early Spanish colonial period.[4] Pazos (1966:6) describes the role of the Spanish in establishing Quechua in Colombia:

> 'La existencia del Quechua en Colombia es similar a la de los países circundantes del incario. Las prinicpales razones en el caso colombiano son: las conquistas incaicas; las migraciones del territorio que hoy es el Ecuador; la acción de los conquistadores, encomenderos y yanaconas; la acción de los misioneros.'

According to Garcilaso de la Vega (1966:156), three thousand Cañari 'joined the Spanish force as eager volunteers. They performed throughout the Quitan campaign with savage glee.' It is possible that the Ingas are descendents of some such group which sided with the Spanish against the failing Empire and received territory in the Sibundoy Valley as compensation. It is even possible that the reason they were installed there was to assist in the pacification of the Camsá, who were the earlier inhabitants of the valley.

However they may have arrived, from the mountain valley of Sibundoy (Alto Putumayo) the Ingas spread south and east into the foothills and lowlands (Bajo Putumayo), and later, north across the mountainous *páramo* to settle Aponte, a reserve consigned to them in 1621 by Don Luis de Quiñones, Surveyor for King Philip III of Spain, as confirmed in the testament of the Inga Patriarch Carlos Tamoavioy in 1737 (Levinsohn, et al, 1982:56). Ingas have resided in the Sibundoy and contiguous areas for about four centuries. Another group of Quechua speakers, the *Anakona* (< *Yanakuna*), also inhabited Southern Colombia during early colonial times, somewhat to the north of the Inga area. According to tradition, they were members of the Quechua-speaking *Chincha* tribe brought to Colombia from Peru (Pazos 1966:6). Testimony to their earlier presence in Colombia survives in a number of place names.

Linguistic Affiliation of Colombian Inga. In view of the political history of the area, it is not surprising that Inga shows the greatest linguistic affinity to those varieties of Quechua spoken in modern Ecuador. In the following pages this affinity will be explored and the linguistic affiliation of Inga with the Ecuadorian subgroup of Quechua verified on the basis of shared phonological and morphological innovations.

2. Comparative Overview of Inga Grammar.

The many related idioms spoken by the eight to ten million progeny of the Inca Empire are known variously as Quechua, Quichua, Runa Simi ("human speech"), Inga (i.e., *Inca*), as well as by other regional names.[5] All share a similar basic grammatical structure and lexical inventory, with such differences as might be expected to accrue across the centuries due to independent regional development, influence from other indigenous tongues and contact with Spanish.

Quechuan languages are suffixing, agglutinative and have a basic S-O-V sentence structure which may be permuted by discourse level criteria such as topic, focus and so on. There is a substantial noun suffix system, an extensive verb suffix system, and a number of independent suffixes which attach to words of any grammatical category. There is no prefixation in inherited vocabulary. There is also a surprising lack of irregularities, exceptions and complex morphophonemics in the grammar.

Most Quechuan roots are bisyllabic. Stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable, shifting right as suffixes are added: e.g., Cuzco *wási* 'house', *wasí-nku* 'their house', *wasi-nkú-pi* 'in their house', etc. However, there are exceptions to this rule. In Inga, for example, the topicalizer *-ka* and the evidentials *-mi* 'ASSERTION' and *-si* 'REPORT', when appended to substantives, are "invisible" to the stress placement rule: cf. Inga *núka* 'I', *núka-ka* 'as for me'; *súma* 'beautiful, *súma-mi* 'beautiful (ASSERT)'.

	Inga	Cuzco	Huallaga	Gloss
Object	*-ta*	*-ta*	*-ta*	(DO, IO)
Locative	*-pi*	*-pi*	*-čaw*	'in, at'
Goal	*-ma*	*-man*	*-man*	'to(wards)'
Ablative	*-manda*	*-manta*	*-pita*	'from'
Comitative	*-wa*	*-wan*	*-wan*	'with'
Associative	*-ndi*	*-ntin*	*-ntin*	—[6]
Genitive	*-pa*	*-q*	*-pa*	'of'[7]
Purposive		*-paq*		'for'

Table 1. Common nominal suffixes in Inga, Cuzco and Huallaga Quechua.

Noun Morphology. In *Table 1* (above) some of the more productive nominal suffixes found in Colombian Inga are listed, along with the corresponding suffixes in Cuzco Quechua and Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua for comparison. Cuzco and Huallaga are chosen since they are representative of the two principle historic branches of Quechua, Quechua A (Cuzco) and Quechua B (Huallaga).[8] Each Inga suffix is cognate with the corresponding Cuzco suffix in every case, and with the corresponding Huallaga suffixes in all cases except locative *-pi (-čaw)* and ablative *-manda (-pita)*.

The displacement of PQ **-pi* and **-manta* by the forms *-čaw* (< **čaw* 'middle, half') and *-pita*, respectively, is in fact a defining feature of the QB dialects. The PQ root **čaw* survives in QA with more or less the original meaning: cf. Inga *čawxpi* 'middle'. Colombian Inga clearly belongs with the QA group on the basis of this criterion, as well as others which will be discussed as they arise.

On the other hand, Inga differs from Cuzco and most other dialects of both Quechua A and B, excluding those of the Ecuadorian branch, in its loss of the nominal personal possessive suffix system. For example, in most Quechua dialects the 1st singular possessive suffix is *-ni* and the 3rd singular is *-n*: Cuzco *wasi-ni* 'my house', *wasi-n* 'his/her house'. In Colombian Inga and Ecuadorian Quichua the functions of these suffixes have been assumed by possessive pronouns. These are usually inflected with the genitive suffix *-pa*, although *nuka*

'I' may appear uninflected with the meaning 'my': *nuka wasi* /1ø house) 'my house', *pay-pa wasi* (he-GEN house) 'his/her house'.

The personal possessive suffixes not only indicate possession when affixed to nouns, but also mark (underlying) subject person-number in nominalized verb constructions: e.g., Cochabamba (Bolivian) *kawsa-na-nku-paq* /live-NOM-3PL-PURP/ 'in order for them to live' (Bills, et al., 1969:285), where *-nku* is the third-person plural possessive suffix. In Inga and Ecuadorian, only constructions of the type *kawxsa-nga-pa* /live-NOM-PURP/ 'in order to live' (lacking a possessive suffix) are possible. The object of the nominalized verb, if expressed, must be expressed by a pronoun: e.g., *pay-kuna-pa* (*kawxsa-nga-pa*) /3-PLUR-PURP (live-NOM-PURP)/ '(in order) for them (to live)'.

Verb Morphology. The Quechuan verbal suffix system is complex, and no attempt will be made to fully explicate it here. Historically, Quechua verbs are inflected for (1a) tense, mode and aspect; (1b) subject and object person-number, reflexivity and reciprocality; (1c) directionality, benefactor, etc. Additionally, there are (2) derivational suffixes (deverbalizers), (3) nominalizers and subordinators, and (4) independent suffixes (which also modify nouns, adjectives and adverbs). (See *Table 6.*)

An impressive number of morphemes can be chained together in a single word in Quechua. The following example is from Bolivian Quechua (Bills, et al., 1969:335):

(1) *Tiyarichikamullay!*
tiya-ri-č'i-ka-mu-l'a-y
/ sit / POLITE / CAUS / REFL / TRANSLOC / DELIMIT / IMPER /

'Please just go have him take a seat.'

In *Table 2* below are displayed a cross-section of Inga verbal suffixes together with their counterparts in Cuzco and Huallaga Quechua for comparison. The forms of two of the suffixes listed therein corroborate the assignment of Inga to the QA group on the basis of noun morphology. These are the first-person subject marker *-ni* and the first-person object marker *-wa*. In both cases Inga is in agreement with Cuzco and other QA dialects over against Huallaga and the QB dialects. The latter signal first-person singular subject through lengthening of the stem-final theme vowel and first-person object by some variation of the distinctive suffix *-ma(a).*[10]

While otherwise in general accord with the QA group, Inga and the Ecuadorian dialects have simplified the historic Quechua system considerably. First, the complex, somewhat syncretistic set of subject-object suffixes found in Southern QA and in QB (*Table* 3 below) has been simplified (cf. *Table 4* below). Second, the nominal suffixes of possession, which mark the underlying subject in nominalized verbal constructions, have been replaced by personal pronouns in the genitive. Third, many suffixes which are productive in other Quechuan dialects (a) have become nonproductive or fossilized, (b) have been lexicalized or replaced by paraphrastic constructions, or (c) have disappeared altogether in Inga.

	Inga	Cuzco	Huallaga	Gloss
1s Subject	*-ni*	*-ni*	*-V:*	'I'
3s Subject	*-(n)*	*-n*	*-n*	'he, she, it'
3pl Subject	*-nkuna*	*-nku*	*-n*	'they'
1s/pl Object	*-wa*	*-wa*	*-ma:*	'me'
Benefactive	*-pu*	*-pu*	*-pa:*	'for/to/on one'
Cislocative[9]	*-mu*	*-mu*	*-mu*	'hither'
Past Tense	*-rka*	*-r(q)a*	*-ra*	'-ed'
Causative	*-či*	*-či*	*-či*	'make (VERB)'
Progressive	*-ku*	*-sa*	*-yku*	'-ing'
Reflexive	*-ri*	*-ku*	*-ku*	'oneself'

Table 2. Some common verbal suffixes in Colombian Inga with the corresponding suffixes in Cuzco and Huallaga Quechua. (The symbol *-V:* represents a lengthened theme vowel.)

In Inga the set of subject-object person-number suffixes has been reduced to fifteen from about twenty-five in Bolivian and other conservative Southern QA varieties. Contributing significantly to this reduction is the loss of all forms marking 1st person-plural exclusive subject or object--about seven forms in all--and the loss of the 3subj/2obj morpheme *-su*, which combines with other suffixes to create syncretistic forms. Retained are the 1st person object marker *-wa* and the 1subj/2obj suffixe(s) *-yki(čis)*. On the other hand, Inga has created novel 1s-subj/3obj and 3subj/3pl-obj forms using the plural marker *-kuna*, an innovation not found in Southern-QA dialects.

Subject Person-Number	Intrans/ 3s/pl	1s	Object Person-Number 2s	1(+)	1(-)	2pl
1s	*-ni*	–	*-yki*	–	–	*-ykičis*
2s	*-nki*	*-wanki*	–	–	*-wayku*	–
3s	*-n*	*-wan*	***-sunki***	***-wančis***	*-wayku*	***-sunkičis***
1(+)	*-nčis*	–	–	–	–	–
1(-)	*-nku*	–	*-yku*	–	–	*-ykičis*
2pl	*-nkičis*	*-wankičis*	–	–	*-wayku*	–
3pl	*-nku*	*-wanku*	***-sunku***	***-wančis***	*-wayku*	***-sunkičis***

Table 3. The present-tense, person-number system of Cochabamba (Bolivia) Quechua (Bills, et al., 1969:130). Cf. the Inga system in *Table 4* below. Suffixes no longer found in Colombian Inga are highlighted in bold type.

In some cases cognate suffixes no longer have the same meaning or function across dialects. An example of this is *-ri*, which in Inga has the meaning of 'reflexive' or 'medio-passive', as it does in Ecuador. E.g. *kawa-ri-y* 'to appear (be seen)' < *kawa-y* 'to see'. In Cuzco, however, *-ri* indicates 'diminuitive', in Bolivian it signifies 'inceptive' or 'politeness', and in Huallaga 'punctual aspect'. Vestiges of some of these former functions of *-ri* survive in Inga in a handful of verbs such as *kallari-y* 'to begin' and *pakari-y* 'to dawn'.

Subject Person-Number	Intrans/ 3s	Object Person-Number 1s	2s	1pl	2pl	3pl
1s	*-ni*	–	*-yki*	–	*-ykičita*	*-nicunata*
2s	*-ngi*	*-wangi*	–	–	–	–
3s	*-(n)*	*-wa(n)*	–	–	–	*-cunata*
1pl	*-nči*	–	–	–	–	–
2pl	*-ngiči*	*-wangiči*	–	–	–	–
3pl	*-nkuna*	*-wankuna*	–	–	–	*-cunata*

Table 4. The present-tense, person-number system of Colombian Inga (from Levinsohn 1978). Compared to the Southern QA dialects the Inga verb system has been considerably simplified, a characteristic of all Ecuadorian dialects. Innovative Inga forms are highlighted in bold type.

Interestingly, the loss in Inga and Ecuadorian of noun morphology--particularly the possessive suffixes--contributes to the simplification of the verbal system as well. As an example, the purposive verbal construction in Quechua is transparently a synthesis of the nominalizing suffix *-na* (Inga *-nga*) plus the purposive nominal sufffix *-paq* (Inga *-pa*): e.g. Inga *miku-nga-pa* 'in order to eat'. In Inga and Ecuadorian, however, the two suffixes are never separated by intervening forms as they are in other varieties of Quechua. Again, compare the following Inga and Bolivian nominalized verb constructions:

	Inga	**Bolivian**
(2a)	*kawxsa-nga-pa* /live-NOM-PURP/	(b) *kawsa-na-nku-paq* /live-NOM-3PL-PURP/
	'in order to live'	'in order for them to live'

In (2b) third-person plural *-nku* 'their', representing the underlying subject of this construction, is interposed between *-na* 'NOMINALIZER' and *-paq* 'PURPOSIVE'.

The following verb stems contain suffixes which in Cuzco and Huallaga Quechua are productive but which are fossilized or no longer productive in Inga:[11]

	Inga	**Huallaga**	**Cuzco**
(3a)	*ya-yku-* 'enter'	(b) *ya-ykU-* 'enter'	(c) *ha-yku-* 'enter'
(4a)	*su-rku-* 'extract'	(b) *ya-rqu-* 'go out'	(c) *(h)o-rqu-* 'extract'
(5a)	*wa-rku-* 'hang up'	(b) *ya-rkU-* 'go up'	(c) *wa-rku-* 'hang up'

The stem *ya-yku-* 'enter' is found in Huallaga alongside forms like *ya-rqu-* 'to go out', *ya-rku-* 'to go up', *qa-yku-* 'to drive into' (e.g. *cattle*, into a corral), etc. In Huallaga, then, this stem is readily analyzable as comprising a root *ya-* plus suffix *-yku*. In Inga, however, the stem can only be so analyzed diachronically, as other stems containing these morphemes with which to compare it are rare or nonexistent. Other examples of Inga stems which historically may have contained productive derivational or modal morphemes which must be analyzed synchronically as frozen morphs are *samayku-y* 'to be startled', *urayku-y* 'to descend', *pakaku-ri-y* 'to take shelter' and *mitiku-y* 'to take flight'; cf. *sama-y* 'to

stand', *ura* 'below', *paka-y* 'to hide'. The root of *mitiku-y* appears to be related to Classical Cuzco *mitmaq* 'emigrant, colonist'.

Huallaga/Cuzco	Inga
-na 'PERFECTIVE'	*ña* 'already'
-raq 'IMPERFECTIVE'	*čay-ra* 'still', *mana-ra* 'no longer'
-mu 'TRANSLOCATIVE'	STEM + *-g riy* 'go and (VERB)'

Table 5. **Some examples of suffixes which are productive in many varieties of Quechua, such as Cuzco and Huallaga, but which have been lexicalized or have been replaced by paraphrasis in Inga.**

Some suffixes which are still productive in other varieties of Quechua have been lexicalized or replaced by paraphrasis in Inga (*Table 5* above). Whereas the perfective verbal suffix *-na* and imperfective *-raq* are productive in Cuzco and Huallaga, for example, *-na* has been lexicalized in Inga to create the free form *ña* 'already'.[12] The imperfective marker *-raq* 'still' has fused in Inga with the root morphemes *čay* 'that', *mana* 'not', and *ama* 'don't!', to produce the novel forms *ča(y)ra* 'still', *manara* 'no longer' and *amara* 'not yet!' This frozen morph *-ra* is found only in these words in Inga, although it is still a productive suffix in other Ecuadorian dialects.

The suffix *-mu* in more conservative dialects of Quechua has both cis- and translocative functions. The cislocative is used with verbs of motion and signifies 'motion towards the speaker'; e.g., Huallaga *apa-mu-y* 'bring (me)' (literally, 'carry here'). The translocative occurs with nonmotion verbs and expresses the idea of going away to perform an action (and optionally returning) 'go and (VERB)'; e.g., Huallaga *rika-yka-mu-nki* 'go and see' (< *rika-y* 'to look'; Weber 1983:93). Only the cislocative form of *-mu* is productive in Inga and most Ecuadorian dialects: e.g., Inga *apa-mu-y!* 'bring (it) here!' (but not, for example, **ni-mu-y!* 'go and tell him'). In these dialects the translocative function of *-mu* has been replaced by a paraphrastic construction utilizing the verbs *riy* 'go' and *samuy* 'come'. This construction is formed by affixing the agentive suffix to the matrix verb, which is then followed by a form of *riy* 'to go' or *samuy* 'to come'. Cf. the following example of the use of this paraphrastic construction (Jamioy, et al., 1982:19) with Huallaga *rika-yka-mu-nki* 'go and see':

(6) *Cahuapuagrig!*[13]
/ *kawa-pu-wa-g-ri-g* /
/ see-BEN-1OBJ-AGT-GO-IMPER /
'Go and see for us!'

Some suffixes found in other dialects no longer occur in any form in Inga. Again, compare the complex verb system of Bolivian Quechua, a more conservative QA cousin, with that of Inga. In *Table 6* (below) the verbal suffix schema for Cochabamba Quechua is presented (based on Bills, et al., 1969:113, 335). Categories of suffixes are presented from left to right in the general order in which they follow the stem; the suffixes themselves are listed from top to bottom in the general order in which they are added to the stem. (The exact order varies somewhat among dialects.)

Of the dozen or so suffixes classified by Bills, et al., as *modals*, Inga retains as productive only *-či, -mu, -pu,* and *-l'a; -ri* and *-ku* also occur with altered functions. As previously mentioned, inceptive *-ri* is found as a fossil form, but as a productive form *-ri* is the reflexive marker in Inga, replacing Southern QA *-ku*. The latter, in turn, functions in Inga to mark continuative aspect (i.e., progressive), replacing Southern *-sa*. Of the simple object markers, only *-wa* remains. The 3subj/2obj suffix *-su* has disappeared entirely. Syncretistic *-(y)ki* '1subj/2obj' is retained (cf. *Table* 3). Tense markers remain essentially the same, but some modification has taken place among nominalizing suffixes both through the emergence of novel periphrastic constructions and through the borrowing of Spanish verbal suffixes. For example, the Inga periphrastic future construction *tarpu-ngapa ka(-n)* 'he's going to plant' is found alongside the simple future *tarpu-nga* 'he will plant', and in Santiago, at least, appears to be replacing it. In the frequentative construction *ri-dur ka-rka-nkuna* 'they used to go', the Spanish agentive suffix *-dor* has supplanted the inherited Quechua agentive *-x* (< **-q*) in what is otherwise a historically Quechuan construction; cf. Bolivian *ri-q ka-rqa-nku* 'they used to go'. Borrowed Spanish morphology is also found in the perfect tenses and in a class of temporal constructions: e.g., *pus-ado ka-ni* 'I have carried'; *čaya-mu-hora* /arrive-CIS-when/ 'when he arrived here' (Levinsohn 1978:18, 28).

STEM +	MODAL SUFFIXES +	OBJECT MARKERS +	TENSE MARKERS +	PERS/NUM SUFFIXES +	INDEPENDENT SUFFIXES
	-ykača 'FREQ'	*-wa* '1-OBJ'	*-rqa* 'PAST'	(see	*-ña* 'IMPERFECTIVE'
	-yka 'FINALITY'	*-su* '2-OBJ'	*-nqa* 'FUT'	*Table* 3	*-raq* 'PERFECTIVE'
	-rqu 'HONORIFIC'	*-yki* '1SUBJ/2OBJ'	*-sqa* 'NARR'	above)	*-puni* 'EMPHATIC'
	-rpa 'EXTEMP'				*-taq* 'CONJUNCTIVE'
	-ri 'INCEPTIVE'				*-pis* 'ADDITIVE'
	-či 'CAUSATIVE'		IMPERATIVE: *-y[čis]*		*-ču* 'NONFACTUAL'
	-ysi 'COLLABORATIVE'				*-ča* 'CONJECTURAL'
	-na 'RECIPROCAL'		NOMINALIZERS:		*-čus* 'DUBITATIVE'
	-ku 'REFLEXIVE'		*-y* 'INFINITIVE'		*-qa* 'TOPICALIZER'
	-mu 'DIRECTIONAL'		*-na* 'FUT SUBORDINATOR'		*-ri* 'POLITE'
	-pu 'BENEFACTIVE'		*-q* 'AGENTIVE'		*-mi(n)* 'ASSERTATIVE'
	-l'a 'DELIMITATIVE'		*-sqa* 'OBJ SUBORDINATOR'		*-si(s)* 'REPORTATIVE'
	-sa 'CONTINUATIVE'		*-qti* 'DIFF/SUBJ SUBORDINATOR'		
			-spa 'SAME/SUBJ SUBORDINATOR'		

Table 6. Outline of the verbal suffix system of Cochabamba (Bolivian) Quechua (Bills, et. al, 1969:113, 335).

Inga preserves essentially the same set of nominalizers, with modifications alluded to above: (1) loss of personal possessive suffixes resulting in simpler nominalized constructions; (2) encroachment of Spanish suffixes such as *-ado/-ido, -dor, -dero* and *-hora*. E.g., *rigs-ido* 'acquaintance' (< *rigsi-y* 'to recognize'), *wača-dora* 'laying hen', *puñu-dero* 'bed' (< *puñuy* 'to sleep'), *čaya-hora* 'when he/she arrived'.

The different-subject subordinator **-pti* (*-qti* in S-QA) takes the form *-xpi* in Inga and also the Ecuadorian dialects, perhaps through reanalysis as *-x* 'agentive' plus *-pi* 'locative'. For example, in the Guayuyacu Inga expression *časa ni-[ɡ]-lla-pi-si* /thus say-AGT<DELIM>LOC-REP/ 'just as he said that', the sequence *-[ɡ]pi* is seen to behave in just this fashion, delimitative *-lla* intervening between the

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(reanalyzed) components *-x* and *-pi* (*-x* is voiced > *-ɣ* by the following palatal lateral) . The replacement of **-pti* 'D/S SUBORDINATOR' by **-kpi* is a defining characteristic of the Ecuadorian Branch.

Of the independent suffixes found in Bolivian and other Southern varieties, Inga has lost *-puni* 'emphatic' and *čus* 'dubitative' (*-ri* 'polite' is a Bolivian innovation). Furthermore, as previously stated, *-ña* 'perfective' has been lexicalized and *-raq* 'imperfective' is found only as a vestige in the lexemes *ča(y)ra* 'still', *manara* 'no longer' and *amara* 'not yet'. Conjunctive *-taq* is also relegated to frozen-morph status, surviving only in interrogative expressions like *pi-ta?* 'who?', *imása-ta?* 'how?'; and in the complex suffix *-lla-ta(ta)* 'just like' (< *-lla* 'DELIMIT' + *-ta* 'CONJ'). E.g. *časa-lla-ta* 'just that way', *mana nukanči-sina-lla-tata* 'not at all like us'.

Not included in *Table 6* above are the denominalizing suffixes *-ya* (INTRANSITIVE) and *-ča* (TRANSITIVE) for deriving verb stems from nouns and adjectives; and deverbalizer *-naya* 'DESIDERATIVE' (*ibid.*:336). Inga retains the first and the last, but has lost the second through merger with *-či* 'CAUSATIVE'. E.g.: Bolivian *puka-ya-y* 'to turn red' (< *puka* 'red'), *miku-naya-sa-ni* 'I feel like eating' (< *miku-y* 'to eat'); Inga *amsa-ya-y* 'to grow dark' (< *amsa* 'dark'), *yaku-naya-ni* 'I'm thirsty' (< *yaku* 'water').

The most complex aspect of Quechuan morphology is the verbal suffix system. Inga, in company with the Ecuadorian dialects, has simplified this system both through a reduction in the number of inflectional categories and forms, as well as through the loss of the nominal possessive suffix system, which marks subject person-number for nominalized verb constructions in more conservative varieties of Quechua.

	Inga	Cuzco	Huallaga	Gloss
Topic	*-k(a)*	*-q*	*-qa*	'as for...'
Assertative	*-m(i)*	*-mi*	*-mi*	(Eyewitness)
Reportative	*-si*	*-ši*	*-ši*	(Reported)
Nonfactual	*-ču*	*-ču*	*-ču*	'QUES/NEG'
Additive	*-pas*	*-pis*	*-pis*	'also, even'
Delimitative	*-lʸa*	*-lʸa*	*-lʸa*	'just, only'

Table 7. Some examples of independent suffixes in Inga, Cuzco and Huallaga Quechua.

Independent Suffixes. In addition to the elaborate nominal and verbal suffix systems, there are also found in Quechua a class of independent suffixes, or clitics (*Table 7* above). Examples of independent suffixes in Inga are the topicalizer *-k(a);* the evidentials *-mi* 'ASSERTION' (which indicates an eyewitness account), *-si* 'REPORT' (which indicates a second-hand account) and *ču* (which marks negatives and interrogatives); and *-lʸa* 'DELIMITATIVE' and *-pas* 'ADDITIVE'. These affix to any part of speech after all other derivational and inflectional suffixes have been added. In the following Inga example, the order of morphemes is STEM + INFLECTION + SUBORDINATOR + INDEPENDENT SUFFIX:

(7) *llugsicuhoraca*
/ *ɬuxsi-ku-hora-ka* /
/ descend-PROG-TEMP-TOP /
'as (the sun) was going down'

The topicalizer *-k(a)* is used extensively in Inga--much more so than in Peruvian and Bolivian varieties of Quechua or even the Ecuadorian dialects most closely related to Inga. This suffix serves principally to introduce new topics or to signal a change in topic (e.g., if the "new" topic has already been introduced in previous text but has been discontinued temporarily for another topic). The evidentials *-mi, -si* and *ču* are also extensively employed and mark the *comment*--usually new information about the *topic*--of an utterance. These most often appear with the object of a verb, but not infrequently they are attached to the verb itself or affixed to an adjective or adverb:

(8) *Café tianchu? Arí, tiami.*
/ *café* / *tia-n-ču* / *arí* / *tia-mi* /
/ café / be-3s-QUEST / yes / be-ASSERT /
'Is there any coffee? Yes, there is.'

3. Quechuan Dialectology.

In this section the classification of the Quechuan languages and dialects into major dialect groups and subgroups and the motivating linguistic factors for such a classification are discussed. A revised version of the classification scheme of Parker (1969d/e) is presented in *Table 8* (next page).

I. **Quechua B.** Ancash, Huaylas, Junín, Huallaga, etc., (Central Peru).
II. **Quechua A.**
A) Northern Peruvian. Cajamarca, Ferreñafe (Northern Highland Peru).
B) Lowland Peruvian. Amazonas, Chachapoyas, San Martín (Northern Peruvian Lowlands).[14]
C) Ecuadorian-Southern.
(i) Southern. Cuzco, Ayacucho, etc. (Southern Peru); Cochabamba, Potosí (Bolivia); Santiago del Estero (Argentina).
(ii) Ecuadorian.
(a) Highland Ecuadorian. Loja, Azuay, Imbabura, Chimborazo, Pichincha, etc. (Western and Central Ecuador).
(b) Lowland Ecuadorian. Bobonaza, Tena, Limoncocha (Eastern Ecuadorian Lowlands).
(c) Pastaza (?) (Northern Peruvian Lowlands.)[15]
(d) Colombian. Santiago, Aponte, San Andrés, Yungillo, Guayuyaco (Southern Colombia).

Table 8. Outline of major Quechuan language and dialect groups (based on Parker 1969d/e with modifications from Grimes 1985).

Contributing to the complexity of distribution and, therefore, the difficulty

of classification of Quechuan dialects and languages are the rugged Andean terrain and the historic mobility of Quechua-speaking groups. In the first instance, populations only a few kilometers distant may be separated by virtually intraversable geographical features such as ravines or ridges, which effectively isolate them and leave them to develop linguistically independently from one another (e.g., Corongo and Northern Huaylas QB; Parker 1969d:8). In the second case, dialects which are now geographically removed from one another may have originated in close proximity to one another and thus show unexpected similarities (e.g., Cajamarca and Northern Lima; Parker 1969c:194).

To these factors may be added the influence on other dialects of Cuzco Quechua during the Imperial period, the Inca, and later, Spanish, policy of translocating groups of *mitmaq* and *yanakuna* from one province to another, and colonial missionization programs using Quechua as a *lingua franca* to further complicate the distribution of Quechuan dialects and their affiliations. However, Quechuanists such as Alfredo Torero (1964, 1968, 1974), Gary Parker (1969a-e), Rudolfo Cerrón-Palomino (1976), Carolyn Orr and Robert Longacre (1968), among others, have proposed classification schemes for the Quechuan languages and dialects based on shared phonological and morhophological traits--particularly shared innovations--and shared lexical inventory. Due to the unavailablility of Torero's works to the author, Parker's (1968a-e) classification system, similar to Torero's (1964), is used here, with minor modifications in light of more recent publications on Quechuan dialectology, such as Grimes (1985).

Comparative Quechuan Linguistics.[16] The cradle of the Quechuan languages is widely held to have been central Peru, although Parker (1969a:67-70) argues for a more northern origin. In this area are found representatives of the two major branches of Quechua, designated Quechua A and B by Parker (1969a). Parker (1969a:66) explains:

> 'As soon as it was possible to apply the comparative method, it became clear that the central Peruvian dialects constitute a genetic group, which I call Quechua B. All available information on other dialects, both north and south of the Quechua B area, suggested that they constitute a second group--Quechua A. . . . [Data have] constantly strengthened the theory that Quechua A and Quechua B represent the initial branching.'

According to Parker, QA further divides into Northern Peruvian (NP) and Ecuadorian-Southern (Ec-S), the latter group itself comprised of two subgroups which encompass the Ecuadorian dialects (Ec) and those of Southern Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile (S). The little-studied group of Northern Peruvian (QA) dialects lies to the south of the Ecuadorian pale, between the northernmost QB dialects and southernmost Ecuadorian QA.

Like Parker, Torero (cited in Parker 1969a-e and Grimes 1985) organizes the Quechuan languages and dialects into two major branches, which he terms Quechua I and Quechua II. Quechua I corresponds to Parker's Quechua B and his Quechua II to Parker's Quechua A. Torero further divides Quechua II into Quechua IIa, corresponding roughly to Parker's Ecuadorian subgroup of QA, together with the Lowland Peruvian dialects; IIb, corresponding to Parker's Northern Peruvian group of QA, excluding the Lowland dialects; and IIc, equivalent to Parker's Southern subgroup of QA.[17]

Cerrón-Palomino (cited in Grimes 1985) divides Quechua into three, rather than two, major groups: Southern, Central, and Northern. The Central group corresponds to Parker's QB, and the Southern and Northern groups together correspond to Parker's QA. The Northern group encompasses the Northern Peruvian and Ecuadorian subgroups of Parker's QA and the Southern group coincides with Parker's Southern QA.

Grimes would modify this picture somewhat. Using Torero's data and analysis as a point of departure, Grimes (1985) provides network theoretical evidence for a more complex arrangement with a southern, a central and and three northern groups of dialects--five groups in all: 'Quechua is divided into a southern group, a central group--whose boundary is not clear in the Yauyos area--and three peripheral groups in the north at about the same level of separation as there is between the southern and central groups.' Thus, he would separate Ecuadorian from Parker's Ecuadorian-Southern (Ec-S) and Lowland Peruvian (LP) from Parker's Northern Peruvian (NP) to recognize three distinct northern groups (*Figure 1* below). On the basis of shared phonological and morphological characteristics, however, it seems appropriate to recognize the affinity of the three northern groups with the southern one and with each other, over against the QB group. Whereas Grimes correctly demonstrates the synchronic diversity of the northern dialects within QA, his analysis does not confute the historical unity of QA as a major branch.

The position taken here, therefore, is that the Northern and Lowland Peruvian dialects constitute distinct groups within the larger group, or branch, of Quechua A. A special affiliation between Ecuadorian and Southern, based on shared phonological traits (such as laryngeal contrast) and morphological attributes (such as verbal plural in *-kuna*), is also recognized.

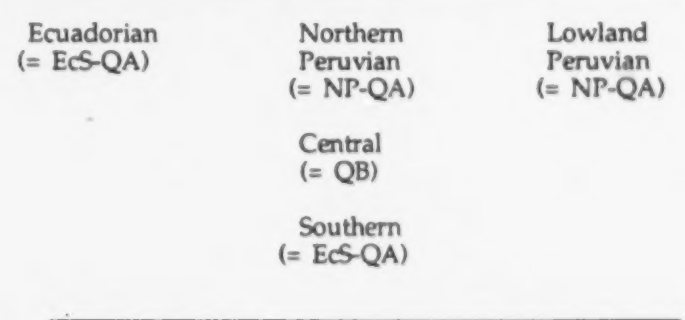


Figure 1. Quechuan sub-groups according to Grimes (1985). Categories in parentheses correspond to Parker's (1969a) classification.

Quechua A and Quechua B. Geographically, QB forms a pocket of dialects in central highland Peru essentially surrounded by QA dialects (see, for example, *Figure 1* above). QA is spoken in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia to the north of QB, and in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina to the south of QB.

The subgroups of QA can be differentiated on the basis of shared phonological and morphological traits. This is largely due to the pattern of past migrations which disseminated the language itself to new regions at different

stages in its development. In the QB-speaking region, however, it was largely the individual changes themselves, and not the emerging dialects (through migrations), which were disseminated. These linguistic innovations diffused through the QB area from different epicenters at different times and to different extents. As a result, variable traits characteristic of QB are shared to varying degrees by different local varieties of QB and it is neither meaningful nor practical to organize these local varieties according to genetic criteria as it is in the case of QA. Parker (1969e:2) concludes, 'In the present study [of Quechua B] the family tree model must be abandoned. . . . [T]he many isoglosses are independently distributed to such an extent that only a wave model can accurately represent the linguistic facts.'

Quechua B. The principle morphological criteria which distinguish QB from QA, mentioned above, are the use in the former of refelxes of the nominal suffixes *-čaw* 'LOCATIVE' and *-pita* 'ABLATIVE' and the verbal suffixes *(V)-:* (phonemic vowel length) '1-SUBJ' and *-ma(a)* '1-OBJ', where QA has *-pi* 'LOCATIVE' and *-manta* 'ABLATIVE' and the verbal suffixes *-ni* '1-SUBJ' and *-wa* '1-OBJ.

There is also one major phonological innovation of QB which sets it off as a group from QA. That is the coalescing of PQ sequences **aya* and **iya* into QB /a:/ (Parker 1969c). Cf.:

QA (Cuzco, etc.)		QB (Ancash, etc.)		Gloss
(9a)	*šaya-ku-*	(b)	*ša:ku-*	'stand, stop'
(10a)	*ñan*	(b)	*na:ni* < *niyani*	'road'
(11a)	*tiya-ku-*	(b)	*ta:ku-*	'sit, reside'

Other innovations in the QB speaking area, however, are at various stages of diffusion and have occasionally spread into QA-speaking areas. Among these are (a) the aspiration of PQ **s* > /h/ in word-initial position (and later in other environments): **sara* > *hara* 'corn' (Ancash); (b) loss of intervocalic /h/: **wasi* > *wahi* > *wayi* 'house' (Huaraz); (c) depalatalization of PQ **ñ* and **l^{y}* to /n/ and /l/, respectively: **ñawi* > *nawi* (Huaraz); **l^{y}asa-q* > *lasa-q* 'sad' (Huari); (d) depalatalization of **č* > /c/: **čaki* > *tsaki* 'dry' (Ancash); (e) deretroflection of **ç* > /č/: **çaki* > *čaki* 'foot' (Ancash). (Examples are from Parker 1969e and Parker and Chavez 1976.)

Inga participates in none of these innovations and again conforms to the phonological parameters of the QA dialects with respect to these criteria.[18]

Northern Peruvian and Ecuadorian-Southern QA. Of the split between Northern Peruvian and Ecuadorian-Southern, Parker observes, "A single sound change attributable to Ecuadorian-Southern is the merger of [retroflex] **ç* > č. The only other innovations involve an elaboration of the person suffix system. . . ." (1969d:154). The latter reference is to (1) the adopting by PEcS of the nominal pluaralizer **-kuna* as a verbal plural marker in the 1-exclusive and 3rd persons; and (2) the modification of the 2nd person plural verb form through the addition of **-čik*. The Northern QA dialects (Ferreñafe and Cajamarca), on the other hand, use **-l^{y}apa* 'all' to mark plural on the verb and the Lowland Peruvian dialects (Amazonas and Chachapoyas) use reflexes of *-šapa* 'each': Cf. Ferreñafe *parla-ša-yki-llapa* (speak-FUT-1SUBJ/2OBJ-PLUR) 'I will tell you (pl.)', Amazonas *rura-rka-n-sa* (make-PAST-3-PLUR) 'they made'. Also, NP preserves the PQ **q* ≠ **k* contrast, found in Southern QA but lost in Ecuadorian.

Where NP and Amazonas LP preserve *č ≠ č, Inga agrees with the Ec-S group in the merger of *č > č, as well as in having *-kuna* as a verbal plural marker. Furthermore, it is in agreement with the Ecuadorian subgroup of dialects in the loss of the contrast *q ≠ *k.

Lowland Peruvian. Lowland Peruvian (San Martín and Amazonas) differs from Northern Peruvian chiefly in the loss of the *q ≠ *k contrast and the use of the use of *-šapa* (rather than *-l^{y}apa*) in the plural verb; and from Ecuadorian-Southern in the preservation of the *č ≠ č contrast (Amazonas) and the use of reflexes of *-šapa rather than *-kuna* in the plural verb: Cf. Amazonas *rura-rka-n-sa*, Inga *rura-rka-n-kuna* (make-PAST-3-PLUR) 'they made'. Additionally, Ecuadorian (except Pastaza) has replaced the historic nominal possessive suffix system with synthetic possessive pronouns. LP shares a number of phonological traits with Ecuadorian, among them the voicing of stops after homorganic nasals, the voicing of /k/ before sonorants and fricativization of /k/ syllable-finally. Nevertheless, the aformentioned characteristics of LP suffice to set it apart from Ecuadorian.

Colombian Inga shares each of the defining characteristics of Ecuadorian-Southern, and specifically Ecuadorian, just discussed. Compare the following items from Inga, Cuzco (Ec-S) and Olto, Amazonas (LP):

	Ec-S	Inga	Cuzco	Amazonas	Gloss
(12)	*č, *č > č	(12a) *čaki*	(b) *čaki*	(c) *čaki*	'foot'
		(12a') *čaki*	(b') *č'aki*	(c') *čaki*	'dry'
(13)	*-*kuna*	(a) *rurankuna*	(b) *ruwanku*	(c) *ruransa*	'they make'
(14)	*-*čik*	(a) *rurangiči*	(b) *ruwankičiq*	(c) *rurankisa*	'you (pl) make'

(Glottalization of /č/ in Cuzco is not apparently related to retroflection in PQ.) Inga also shares with Lowland Ecuadorian, Northern Peruvian and some Southern dialects (e.g. Ayacucho, Argentina) the lack (or historical loss) of glottalized obstruents /p', t', k', č'/ found in Cuzco and Bolivian, and the aspirated obstruents /p^h, t^h, k^h, č^h/ found in these and also in Highland Ecuadorian.

Inga and Ecuadorian. Inga shares with Ecuadorian the following significant morphological characteristics which serve to distinguish this subgroup of dialects from other members of the Ec-S group (such as Cuzco): The loss (except in Pastaza) of the personal possessive suffix system, replaced in Ecuadorian by possessive pronouns; the simplification of the verb morphology through the loss of the distinction between first-person plural inclusive (*1+*) and exclusive (*1-*); the loss of syncretistic subject/object suffixes and the loss of a considerable number of modal and derivational suffixes (innovations shared by Pastaza).

In addition, there are phonological criteria which distinguish Ecuadorian from other QA varieties. Seven phonological innovations attributed by Parker (1969d) to the Ecuadorian subgroup are:

(15) The loss of glottalized coarticulation: C' > C.
(16) Deaspiration of non-initial aspirates: C^h > C / # (C)V(C)___.
(17) The loss of the velar-postvelar contrast: q$^{<h>}$ > k$^{<h>}$.
(18) The spirantization of syllable-final /k/: k > x / ___ {p, t, k, s, š, #}.[19]
(19) The voicing of /k/ before sonorants: k > g / ___ C$_{[+son]}$
(20) The voicing of stops after nasals: p, t, k, > b, d, g / {m, n, *ñ* }___.[20]
(21) The deletion of /y/ following /i/: y > ∅ / i___.

With respect to (15) and (16), in Inga, Lowland Ecuadorian and Lowland Peruvian, these processes are carried a step further to the elimination of all laryngeal contrast in all positions (if, in fact, they ever existed in these dialects). With respect to (21), in the Santiago and Aponte Inga dialects the sequence *-iy* in infinitives (and nominals based on the infinitive) is phonetically realized as [íy] or [éy]. On the other hand, San Andrés and Bajo Putumayo Inga have (21). It is possible that in Santiago and Aponte the infinitive sequence *-iy* was diphthongized to [ey] by the lowering of /i/ to [e] (characteristic of these dialects) before (21) became an established phonological process. It is equally possible that it is an innovation in these dialects through analogy with other infinitives in *-ay* and *-uy*. Cf. Santiago *apa-y* [apáy] 'to carry', *api-y* [apéy] 'to seize', but San Andrés *apí* [apí:] 'to seize'.

Colombian Inga accords with the Ecuadorian branch of Ecuadorian-Southern QA, then, with respect to the following shared phonological innovations:

(15') loss of glottalized coarticulation: C' > C;
(16') complete absence of aspiration of obstruents: C^h > C;
(17') loss of the phonological contrast *q ≠ *k,
(18') fricativization of syllable-final /k/,
(19') voicing of /k/ before sonorants,
(20') voicing of stops (but not all obstruents) after homorganic nasals.[21]

As mentioned, the absence of (21) in Inga may be due either to the timing of the innovation in Ecuadorian or else to a subsequent analogical development in Inga.

Highland and Lowland Ecuadorian. The Highland Ecuadorian (HEc) dialects such as Imbabura, Pichincha, etc., spoken in the Andes, are distinguishable from those spoken in the eastern lowlands around Limoncocha, Bobonaza and Tena. The chief phonological difference is the merger of aspirated obstruents with their simplex counterparts in Lowland Ecuadorian (LEc) C^h > C. This innovation is shared by Inga. Another general characteristic of the Lowland Ecuadorian dialects is a tendency towards the phonological reduction of suffixes. For example, HEc *-nkuna/-nguna* '3pl (VERB)' is reduced to *-naun* in Bobonaza and Tena (LEc) and to *-nun* in Limoncocha; continuative aspect *-ku* in Inga, *-xu* in Imbabura (HEc), becomes *-u* in Bobonaza and Tena; after vowels, genitive/purposive *-pa(x)* is lenited to *-wa* and locative *-pi* to *-i* in Bobonaza and Tena (Orr and Wrisley 1981:156-63). Inga has in common with LEc the loss of final /n/ in *-wa* COMITATIVE and *-ma* 'GOAL' and the loss of final /x/ (< *q) in *-pa* 'PURPOSIVE' and *-ra* 'IMPERFECTIVE' (fossilized in Inga). Compare these Inga and LEc suffixes with Imbabura (HEc) *-wan, -man, -pax and -rax*. Other sporadic similarities with Inga exist, such as the relexification of PQ **ñan* 'road' + **-pi* 'LOC' > Lowland Ecuador, Pastaza and Inga *ñambi* 'road'.

These shared innovations raise the possibility of classifying Inga with this group. However, while the possibility of a common predecessor cannot be ruled out, if such an affiliation existed , the separation of Inga and the Lowland dialects from a common Highland ancestor would have had to have been almost simultaneous with the arrival of the first Inga speakers in Southern Colombia--i.e., during the last years of the Empire.[22] Historical indications are that Inga has been separated geographically from Ecuadorian stock for at least three centuries (cf. Levinsohn, et. al, 1982:1956; Pazos 1966:6). Also, the Lowland dialects have clearly shared a period of development in relative isolation from other Ecuadorian varieties in which Inga has not participated.

4. Classification of Inga.

Summarizing, there are certain defining morphological features which affiliate Colombian Inga with the QA branch (*Figure 2* below). These are (1) the nominal inflectional suffixes *-pi* 'LOCATIVE' and *-manda* 'ABLATIVE' and (2) the verbal inflectional suffixes *-ni* '1s subject' and *-wa* '1s/pl object'. The QB dialects are characterized by reflexes of *-čaw* 'LOCATIVE' and *-pita* 'ABLATIVE', in the first case, and phonemic vowel length *(V)-:* and reflexes of *-ma(a)* in the second case.

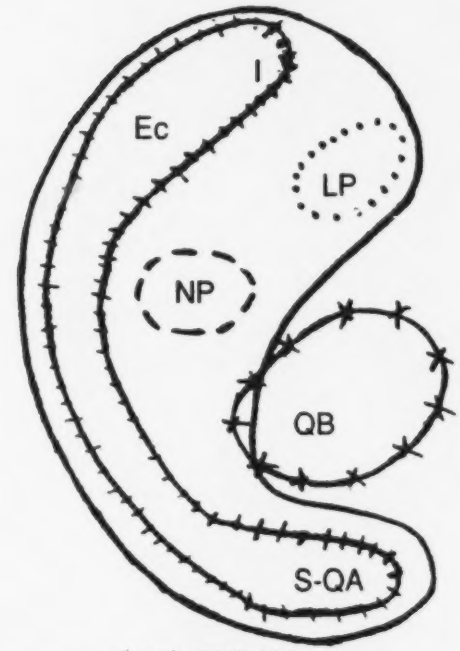
A second group of traits affiliates Inga with the Ecuadorian-Southern group of QA. Among these are (1) the adaptation of the nominal plural suffix *-kuna* to the verb system as a plural subject and object marker (*Figures 2 and 3*) and (2) the merger of PQ **ǯ > č* (*Figure 4*). This contrasts with both the QB group and with other QA subgroups such as NP and LP. QB has no standardized method of marking plural verbal subjects or objects, NP employs reflexes of **-ƛ'apa* 'all', and LP employs **-šapa* 'each' to mark verbal plurals. QB, NP and LP also retain the opposition **ǯ ≠ č*.

Third, the Ecuadorian dialects and Colombian Inga generally agree both in having substantially simplified the noun and verb suffix systems and also with respect to the specific set of suffixes which have been lost or simplified: (1) the nominal personal possessive suffix system (lost); (2) the verbal subject-object person-number system (simplified); (3) the modal system (reduced). Also, Inga agrees with Ecuadorian in having (4) the reinterpreted different-subject adverbial subordinator *-gpi* rather than *-pti* or some phonologically reduced reflex of this (*Figure 3*).

Inga also shares with the Ecuadorian group certain phonological innovations, among them (1) the leveling of the historic **k ≠ *q* contrast, (2) voicing of /k/ before sonorants and (3) voicing of stops after homorganic nasals (see *Figure 4*). Inga also shares with Lowland Ecuadorian (4) the loss (or historical absence) of contrastive aspiration *C^h > C*. Some or all of the latter are shared with Lowland and Northern Peruvian, as well, but other traits already discussed preclude Inga from being classed with these groups.

However, certain other innovations set Inga apart from other varieties of Quechua in the Ecuadorian group. Among these are (1) the merger of **š > s* (where other Ecuadorian has *š ≠ s*); (2) the novel conditional morpheme *-ntsa* or *-ntra* (possibly from third-person **-n + *-ǯa* 'CONJECTURE'); (3) the unique form of several relexified items such as *časa* 'thus' and *čara* 'still' (cf. Imbabura *čašna* and *-rax* 'IMPERF') and (4) the peculiarly Inga usage of *nispa* 'saying (SAME SUBJ)' and *nig(pi)* 'saying (DIFFERENT SUBJ)' as discourse connectors with the force of 'then' or 'next'.[23]

In view of the linguistic affiliations among Colombian Inga and other dialects of Quechua discussed here, what is known of the redistribution of the Quechua-speaking populace during the late Imperial and early Colonial period, and what is hypothesized about the migrations of Quechua-speaking peoples in pre-Imperial times based on linguistic and archeological evidence, the following outline of the events leading up to the establishment of Inga in Southern Colombia is proposed (cf. *Figure 5*):



——	-pi 'LOC', -manta 'ABL' / -ni '1S', -wa '1 OBJ'	(QA)
✕—✕—✕	-čaw 'LOC', -pita 'ABL' / -V: '1S', -ma '1 OBJ'	(QB)
⊢—⊣	-kuna '3RD PLURAL' / -čik '2ND PLURAL'	(Ec-S)
— — —	-l'apa 'VERBAL PLURAL'	(NP)
• • • •	-šapa 'VERBAL PLURAL'	(LP)

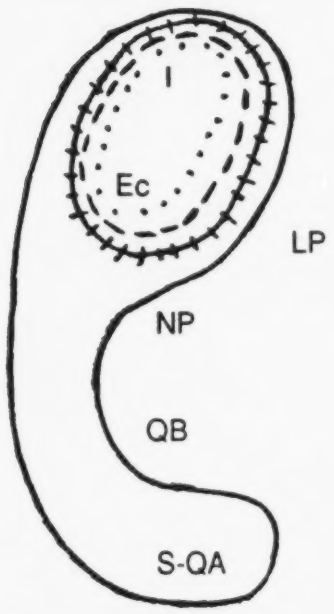
I = Colombian Inga (QA)
Ec = Ecuadorian Quichua (QA)
NP = Northern Peruvian (QA)
LP = Lowland Peruvian (QA)
QB = Quechua B
S-QA = Southern Quechua A

Figure 2. Principal morphological isoglosses which distinguish major Quechuan dialect groups and which affiliate Colombian Inga with Quechua A and Ec-S.

(1) The initial split of PQ, spoken in Central or North Central Peru, into Proto-QA and Proto-QB takes place by the ninth century A.D., and quite probably some time before it (Parker 1969a).

(2) PQA splits again soon thereafter into a Northern group (NP) and Proto-Ecuadorian-Southern (PEc-S). These first branchings can probably best be understood as the result of early migrations from the cradle of the Quechuan-speaking area into surrounding areas. These migrations may have been associated with a pre-Incan culture, the Wari, centered around Ayacucho from the 4th to the 10th centuries AD (Landerman 1976:225; cf. Carrillo E. 1986:41).[24]

(3) Speakers of QB remain in the central Peruvian Highlands, where geographic isolation due to the rugged Andean terrain plays a key role in the linguistic divergence of the QB lects. Rather than through migrations, linguistic



——	{ -kuna '3-PLURAL' / -čik '2-PLURAL' }	(Ec-S)
———	-pa(k) { *-paq 'GEN' / *-pa 'PURP' }	(Ec)
— — —	POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES > Ø	(Ec)
. . . .	*-pti > -kpi 'DIFF SUBJ'	(Ec)

I = Colombian Inga (QA)
Ec = Ecuadorian Quichua (QA)
NP = Northern Peruvian (QA)
LP = Lowland Peruvian (QA)
QB = Quechua B
S-QA = Southern Quechua A

Figure 3. Principal morphological isoglosses which distinguish the Ecuadorian sub-group from Southern, Northern Peruvian and Lowland Peruvian, and which affiliate Inga with Ecuadorian (not to scale).

innovations from different epicenters spread through the area in successive waves. Later QB will also be subject to influences from QA as a result of the prestige of Imperial Cuzco Quechua.

(4) During early migrations of Quechua-speaking peoples, before moving north into Ecuador and south into Cuzco and contiguous areas, speakers of Ec-S come into contact with Jaqaru-Aymara speakers, where phonemic glottalization and aspiration are borrowed into the language, according to Parker (1969a). With the rise of Imperial Cuzco, Southern Quechua is dispersed through a still wider area--much of Bolivia, for example--and Cuzco Quechua exerts a standardizing influence on other Quechua dialects. As a result the affected dialects appear to be less divergent (from Cuzco and from one another) than in fact they are.

(5) QA dialects are introduced into the Northern Peruvian Lowlands, in part, perhaps by refugees from Inca rule during Imperial times (15th century AD).

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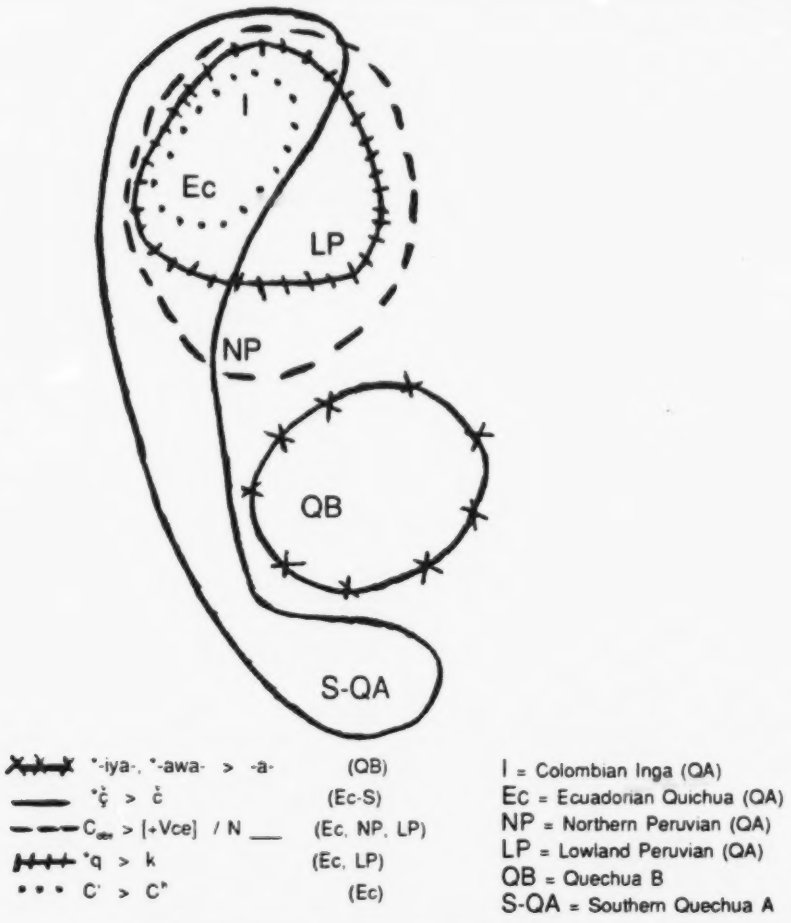

Figure 4. Principal phonological isoglosses which distinguish the Ecuadorian sub-group from Southern, Northern Peruvian and Lowland Peruvian, and which affiliate Inga with Ecuadorian (not to scale).

(6) From the Ecuadorian Highlands, Quichua spreads into the lowlands to the east and north into present-day Colombia as far as Pasto, largely due to Imperial Inca expansion (15th century). Ecuadorian Quichua comes into renewed contact with Southern QA under the dominion of the Empire.

(7) During the final days of the Empire and the early Colonial period (16th century) the range of Quechua continues to expand through warfare, commerce, colonization, missionization, etc. These extended regions include what are now Northern Argentina and Southern Colombia. In Colombia this introduces the Inga language and *Anakona*, a variety of Quechua (now extinct) spoken during the colonial period by a group called by the same name.

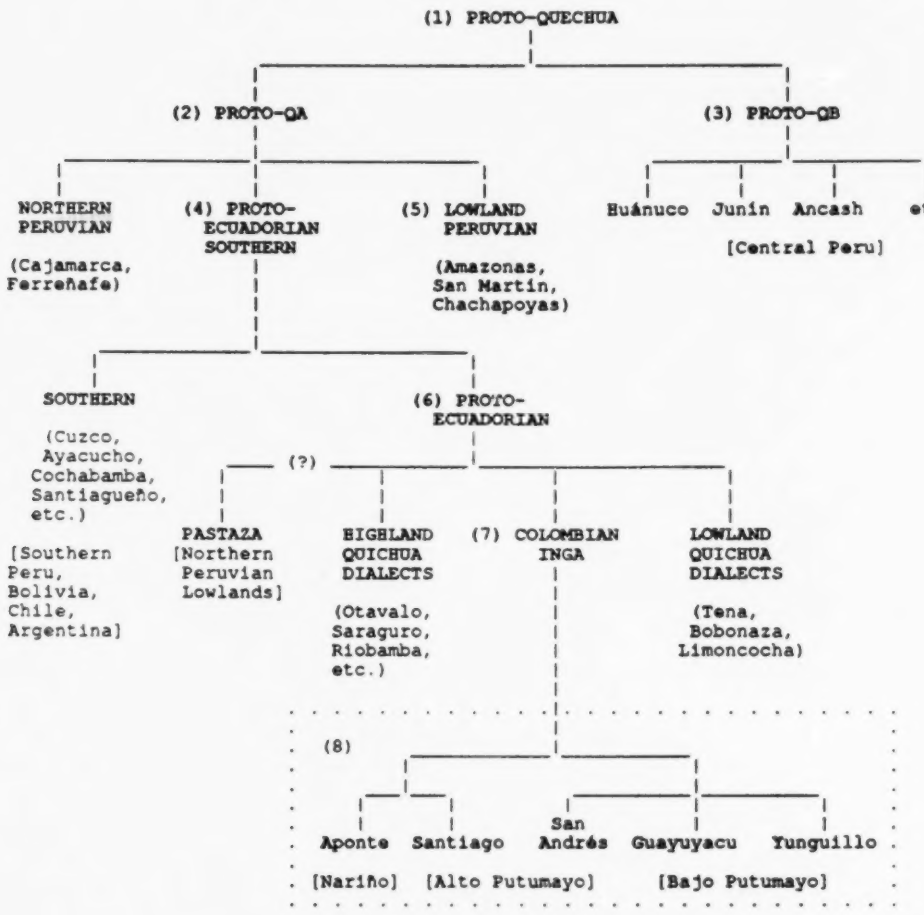

Figure 5. Historic development of Colombian Inga with respect to the major branches of Ecuadorian and Peruvian Quechua.

(8) Dialects of Inga emerge, in turn, as groups of Inga speakers leave Santiago and other settlements in the Sibundoy Valley (Alto Putumayo), their first homeland in sixteenth-century Colombia, and settle first the Bajo Putumayo to the southeast of Sibundoy and later the Aponte Reserve to the north. Shortly thereafter a group which had migrated earlier to the Bajo Putumayo returns to the Sibundoy Valley and establishes the village of San Andrés and its environs.

In conclusion, Colombian Inga is affiliated with the Ecuadorian sub-group of the Quechua A branch of the Quechuan language family. However, Inga constitutes a distinct subdivision within this group on the basis of independent innovations in the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon through several centuries of development in relative isolation from other varieties of Quechua.

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NOTES

1. *Quichua* is simply the Ecuadorian variant of the word *Quechua*, originally the name of just one of the Quechuan speaking tribes in Southern Peru which affiliated itself with the Cuzco hegemony early on (Lumbreras 1974:217). There is no vowel phoneme /e/ in the earliest forms of the Quechuan languages, but in many varieties the phoneme /i/ developed an allophone [e] when it is contiguous to the postvelar stop /q/. The Southern Quechuan form of the word is thus /qʰičwa/, pronounced [qʰečwa]. In Ecuadorian, where the velar-postvelar contrast has been neutralized, the vowel is not normally lowered and is articulated as [i]: [kičwa].

2. When the Spanish arrived, the Empire was already in the throws of civil war. The two sons of Huayna Capac, the late emperor, were vying for power. Huascar, the legitimate heir to the imperial throne defended Cuzco, the traditional seat of the Empire. Atahualpa, the usurper, garnered power in Quito, where his father had made him regent, but not emperor.

3. Roughly half the populations of modern Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are Quechua speaking, and Quechua is an official language of Peru, alongside Spanish.

4. Belalcázar pacified the Ecuador-Colombia area and is credited with the establishment of the cities of Guayaquil and (colonial) Quito in Ecuador, and Pasto and Popayan in Southern Colombia. (See, for example, Garcilaso de la Vega [1966:154-168].)

5. There are also varieties of Quechua called *Inga* < **inka* 'Inca' spoken in Ecuador and Peru–e.g., the Quechua of Pastaza, Peru (Landerman 1973)--but the similarity in name signifies no closer relationship to Colombian Inga than many other Ecuadorian and Peruvian dialects termed Quichua, Runa Simi, etc.

6. This suffix has no real translation equivalent in English. It indicates a close relationship between the various nouns in its scope. For example, the Incas called their empire *Tawantinsuyu* /tawa-ntin-suyu/ (four-ASSOC-area). That is, the four zones were not in a haphazard relationship, but formed the *four quarters* of the empire. Similarly, Inga *iscandi*, from *iscay* 'two' + *-ndi* 'ASSOC', means 'both, the two of them'. Extensions of this use of the associative suffix are found in Inga *mamandi* 'his/her own mother' and *cayandi* 'the next day' (< *caya* 'tomorrow').

7. Cuzco genitive *-q* [χ] derives from PQ genitive ***-pa*** through vowel loss:

-pa# => -p#

followed by syllable-final fricativization:

p# => [p̚] => [χ]

(Syllable-final /q/ is phonetically realized as a uvular fricative in many other

Southern QA dialects as well.) Reflexes of **-pa* are found in Southern Quechuan dialects variously as *-q, -p, -qpa* (by reduplication), and *-pa*.

8. All Huánuco data are from Weber (1978, 1983). The Cuzco data are from various sources, principally Cusihuaman (1976). All Inga examples are from Levinsohn (1976, 1977, 1979), or from Inga primers and readers published by the Summer Insitute of Linguistics, Colombia Branch, edited by Levinsohn.

9. Parker (1969c:193) attributes to Proto-QA the innovation ***-ma** > **-wa***.

10. The directional suffix *-mu* occurs only with motion verbs in Inga, with the meaning '(towards) here'. It has the same meaning in Cuzco, Huánuco, and other QA and QB dialects when affixed to motion verbs.
However, in Southern QA and in QB the suffix *-mU* can also occur with non-motion verbs, in which case it has the meaning 'go and (VERB)', or 'go (VERB) and come back'. In Inga and Ecuadorian this use of *-mu* has been replaced by a special paraphrastic construction made up of the agentive form of the matrix verb plus inflected forms of the verbs *riy* 'go' or *samuy* 'come'.

11. Upper case /U/ and /I/ represent morphophonemes which are normally realized as /u/ and /i/ but which are lowered to /a/ in certain morphophonemically conditioned environments.

12. A possible factor in the lexicalization of *ña* is its similarity in form to the Spanish free morpheme *ya* 'already'. Quechuan speakers have not hesitated to incorporate Spanish borrowings into the language, especially adverbs and conjunctions. E.g., in Inga are found *timpu* 'already' (< Sp *tiempo*), *lim* 'completely' (< Sp *limpio*), and even the morphology is not exempt: e.g. *-hora*, 'when (subordinating temporal complementizer)'; *-ido*, as in *rigsido* 'acquaintance' (< *rigsiy* 'to recognize').

13. The imperative suffix *-g* in this form is a phonological variant found in Guayuyacu Inga. The other dialects have *-y*, as do most Quechuan varieties.

14. Grouped by Parker (1969a) with the Northern Peruvian group (and by Torero with the Ecuadorian group), more recent data indicate that the Lowland Peruvian dialects of San Martín, Amazonas and Chachapoyas in fact constitute a distinct group (cf. Grimes 1985). For example, they share, over against the Northern group, the loss of the PQ contrast **q ≠ *k* and the use of **-šapa* 'each' as a verbal plural marker, where NP has **-l'apa* 'all'. Lexicostatistical analysis also shows the Lowland Peruvian dialects to be less remote from other QA varieties than are the Northern Peruvian dialects.

15. Pastaza Quechua is grouped by Parker with the Northern Peruvian group, together with the Lowland Peruvian dialects of Chachapoyas and Amazonas. However, it has far more in common with the Ecuadorian group than it does with either the Northern Peruvian or the Lowland Peruvian dialects. For example, Pastaza does not preserve the *š ≠ č* contrast found in both NP and LP and it has adopted the nominal pluralizer *-kuna* as a verbal subject and object plural marker, just as the Ecuadorian (and Southern) dialects do. The only way in which Pastaza differs significantly from the Ecuadorian dialects is in the preservation of the nominal possessive suffix system. This can be interpreted to mean that it is the most conservative of the Ecuadorian dialects in this respect. For these reasons I have placed Pastaza with the

Ecuadorian Quichua group, but, it being outside the scope of the present work, make no attempt to subclassify it further.

16. Data used in this section are from the following sources: Huanca Quechua, Cerrón-Palomino (1976); Amazonas Quechua, Chaparro (1985); San Martín Quechua, Coombs, et al. (1976); Pastaza, Landerman (1973); Lowland Ecuadorian Quichua, Orr and Wrisley (1965); Ancash and Huailas Quechua, Parker (1976), and Parker and Chavez (1976); Imbabura Quechua (HEc), Stark and Muysken (1977).

17. Orr and Longacre generally accept the classification system of Torero (1964), but differ from many other Quechuanists in positing a genetic relationship between Quechua and Aymara traceable to a common ancestor, Proto-Quechumaran, and in reconstructing a three-way contrast in Proto-Quechua among simple, aspirated and glottalized obstruents: ***C**, ***C^h**, ***C'**. Parker attributes aspiration and glottalization in Quechua to borrowing from Jaqu-Aymaran substrates, and does not recognize a Proto-Quechumaran ancestor.

18. The merger of *ʧ and *č in Ecuadorian-Southern QA (discussed in the next section) produces a result similar to the QB deretroflection process (e) above in that Ec-S reflexes may have /č/ where the proto-language, some QB and some Northern and Lowland Peruvian dialects have /ʧ/ (cf. the Cuzco (Ec-S) and Amazonas (LP) examples in (12) below). However, the Ec-S process is a merger which neutralizes the primitive opposition *ʧ ≠ *č, whereas the contrast is often maintained in QB reflexes such as č ≠ *c. Cf. Ancash *čaki* 'foot', *tsaki* 'dry', whereas Inga *čaki* 'foot' is homophonous with *čaki* 'dry'.

19. This does not strike me as a uniquely Ecuadorian development. Spirantization of syllable-final /k/, /q/ and even /p/ are common in Southern Quechua dialects such as Cuzco and Bolivian.

20. In Inga the preceding nasal must be homorganic, since forms like *yamta* 'firewood' occur where the nasal is not homorganic and the following stop is not voiced (Cf. Imbabura *yanda* 'firewood'). Also in Inga, but not necessarily other Ecuadorian Branch dialects, the affricate /č/ is excluded from the rule and does not become voiced in this environment: *punča* 'day'. Cf. Imbabura *punʃa* 'day'.

21. While this rule is exceptionless in Inga in words of Quechua origin, an obstruent voicing contrast has been introduced–or is being introduced–to many dialects of Quechua through contact with Spanish and indigenous substrate languages. Thus, Inga *manga* 'pot' < PQ *manka 'pot' shows the historic voicing of PQ *k after [ŋ], while *banco* [baŋko] 'bench' < Sp *banco* evinces the retention of the voiceless velar [k] in the same environment.

22. The source of the modern Lowland dialects may be the revolt of highland tribes like the Cañaris against Atahualpa mentioned by El Inca Garcilaso (see *Section 1*), at precisely the time of the arrival of the Spanish. It is also likely that the ancestral Ingas came from a highland region, since, if the Ingas were translocated by the Spanish, it was in the Andes that the Spanish began their conquest of the area and only later did they explore the lowland regions; and if the Ingas were settled in Colombia by the Incas, it was the

policy of the Incas to transport groups only to areas having geographic and climatic conditions similar to their place of origin.

23. A parallel connective *nispa-qa* 'then' is found in Cuzco Quechua, but the corresponding form *čay-manda* 'then' in Ecuadorian dialects other than Inga is based on the same root as Inga *časa* 'thus', *čara* 'still', etc.

24. The traditional view is that Quechua was promulgated almost entirely by Imperial influence. The linguistic data suggest that in fact Quechua was spoken in a wide area before the time of the empire. Parker reflects, "I feel it is entirely reasonable to infer from linguistic evidence that the Inca Empire represented the last in a series of Quechua migrations" (1969a:67). Comparing archeological findings and dialect geography, Landerman (1976:225) speculates that two previous imperialistic Andean cultures, the Wari and the Chavín, which antedate the Inca Empire, were also Quechua speaking.

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